1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

175 249 562 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 633 162 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 565 569 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

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Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

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some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here, included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above, composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population. This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agricultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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241 463 464 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 433 241 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 241 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units--municípios and distritos--and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group--based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data--for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

Then everyone dons his best and the women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests. 249* 463 159

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another. 249* 463 465

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in 249* 463 233 249* 463

*249 • 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

•[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many [824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

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[The Private Plantation]

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Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a plantation cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer. They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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However, the creation of the position of overseer has also created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

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As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation. Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert. 249* 463 466 571

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand. 249* 463 426 [433]

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued, for the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four- 249* 43 [426] [407] [493]

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than any plantation belonging to the factory, for it is usually "home" to the owner, who is interested in keeping it as pleasant as possible, while the factory plantation in charge of an overseer is simply a business project existing only to produce sugar cane.

At the Usina São Pedro, as stated earlier for the Recôncavo generally, the consolidation of land by the corporations has not turned the entire property into one large plantation. Instead, each plantation has retained its old boundaries, indeed complete autonomy, following only the general policies of the factory directory. The Usina São Pedro happens to be situated in a central position in relation to its six plantations. This is not always the case, for frequently the lands of a factory are scattered far from the plant itself, creating difficulties of administration and transportation.

Each of the plantations has its own nucleus, the street of workers' houses oriented toward the house of the overseer. Each of these little villages has its own small store, usually a private enterprise of the overseer. The largest plantation, Pedras, has a chapel and a school. None of the plantations has an electric power line, but each has a telephone in the overseer's house. The feeling of isolation and abandonment is strong, as indeed it is on almost all overseer-directed plantations belonging to a factory. There is a general feeling of pity for the residents who are situated so far from their patrão and whose first recourse must be the overseer, a man like themselves, with little or no education and little interest in the people other than to keep them working. In other words, the factory plantation lacks the paternal hand of the owner. In other respects it is similar to the private plantation in that it has an overseer, a foreman, a cowboy, and resident workmen.

The bulk of the agricultural direction of the São Pedro plantations is in the hands of the general overseer, Seu Pipiu. It is his duty to direct and supervise the activities of all six plantations. He is a man of no small status. He is practically independent in his actions, for the directors of the factory tell him how much cane they feel they need in the forthcoming harvest, and it is up to him to produce it. The methods and problems in doing this are left up to him. Seu Pipiu gives orders to each of the regional overseers, whose duties are the same as those of the overseer on a private plantation. The only difference is that they are dealing with a superior employee, instead of with the owner in person. The general over-

[The Usina]

seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

ooo Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

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[Town Life]

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[632] [441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

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[Town Life]

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	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
		44
Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Instituto Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

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[484] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, [521] strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

463 The others listed in the group of federal and state employ-
[875] ees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and
[632] his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

463 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local
632 people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

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trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold. [443] [471]

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

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The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
463 cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
[242] ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
632 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
463 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
653 it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
[471] they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão."

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay.

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business.

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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Most of the people included in Group 1 lead an upper-class kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO ?

[Town Life]

743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. 743 873 This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be [463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do [178] the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Recônca-

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[Town Life]

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[443] the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila," (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

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[476] The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

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[313] The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells, and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.

[821]
[492] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

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[illegible] miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangó, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

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226 based on what the fishermen claim to have caught, for the fish
43 is not weighed and the price is based on a low average price per kilogram for all types of fish. As a rule fish is sold by the can and not by weight. The one man in town who buys fish for his icehouse usually buys "by the eye," that is, by estimation of how many kilograms he is getting. If anything, however, the above figures err by underestimation.

463 The life of the fisherman is a rugged one, and his schedule
226 follows the incoming and outgoing tides. There are six types
227 of nets most commonly used: the circular casting net (tarrafa) and the deep net (rêde de fundo) or drag net (rêde de arrasto) to catch shrimp; the ressa and abaladeira, the former for xangó and the latter for sardines and tainha (a small sardine-like fish); and the calão and calãozinho for the larger fish. These are the most popular nets, but there also exist several others used with less frequency, such as the arraieira, a net used only to catch the arraia, or skate fish; the pesqueiro, a pole-and-net trap to catch all kinds of large fish; the caçoeira, to catch the caçao and other very large fish; and the jereré, a small basketlike net used by women and children along the shore to catch small fish and crabs. In addition, a long line
226 with many hooks on it (grosseira), baited to catch large fish, is used. The hook and line is very seldom used. Fish poison is employed. Tingui, a toxic plant, is mashed and scattered on the water in the mangue at low tide, and it stupefies the caramurú and miroró, two inhabitants of the mangue.

The favorite shrimp banks are directly in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, at the mouth of the river which empties into the Bay of All Saints. The preferred time to use the circular casting net for shrimp is early on a windless morning, during the hours of full tide when the incoming surge has ended and the outgoing current has not yet started. The shrimp fleet seen from the heights of the town presents a scene of utmost tranquility, for there is little action involved other than the quick throwing out and the slow pulling in and folding of the net. Tarrafa fishing is a one-man job. The man paddles a canoe out to the area where the shrimp are usually to be found, which in this case is a large submerged rock on the edge of the river channel, around which shrimp are numerous. Arriving there the fisherman ships his paddle and begins to cast his net, standing in the stern of the canoe. As a rule there are between twenty and thirty fishermen casting in and about the same place. The net is cone-shaped, the apex being

2s Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc,
463 while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of [789] energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent
241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the fed-
463 eral school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many
554 years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These
[427] gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their
463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling
[608] their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping.

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there.

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangó, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation.

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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464 were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

464 Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rare-
184 ly requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are em-
463 ployed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season,
632 the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the
[427] factory. However, the few people in town who have mules oc-
[492] casionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

463 In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization
184 and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

[512] Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending [221] late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

369 The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably
557 with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part
184 in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1967 SC11 Bahia Brazilians SC11

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestiço is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of landowners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

* 565 [177] [183]

This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em família--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

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[Class A Families]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

2a Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[Class D Families]

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	1	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
463 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
463 Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
464 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
[427] to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and
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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *mulato*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 39 ff.

from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

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The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

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town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

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As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent.

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Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *rastaqueiros* at the harvest-planting season.

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The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
[178] Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
[776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
[782] while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
[226] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

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planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *mornos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

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The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes, and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

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It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina* owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina* or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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VII. The relations between people of different physical types in Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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No effective opposition appears to an individual with *um pouco da raça* ("a little color"), provided he also possesses the requisite characteristics of upper-class standing.

As we have indicated, marriages between individuals of different colors, like marriages between individuals from the same race, ordinarily take place within class lines. Thus, of twenty-four marriages at Bahia in which one partner was a *branco* or a *branca* and the other a *preto* or *preta*, all the individuals, with the possible exception of one couple, were from the same class. When such marriages occur outside class lines—that is, between individuals from different occupational or income levels—the economic and social advantage, as might be anticipated, will ordinarily be in favor of the white.[11] A *preto*, speaking of the marriage of a certain white woman on the Ilha de Mare to a black, explained, "She got more out of it than he did ['foi mais para ela']. He had money and she didn't."

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Of 72 cases of intermarriage upon which it was possible to secure accurate and relatively complete information, 61, or 85 per cent, were contracted by individuals from the same occupational level. Of the 11 remaining cases in which people married across class lines, in 8, or 73 per cent, the social and economic advantages accrued to the white partner. In the remaining 3 cases, in which white individuals married a spouse from a lower occupational level, the whites were all women, a circumstance probably to be expected, given a social order wherein women are ordinarily at a disadvantage socially and at the same time under pressure to avoid spinsterhood.

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Of 35 cases on which reliable information regarding financial condition was available, only 8 were from the same eco-

[11] To some extent this is also true of intermarriage *within* the same class.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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nomic level. Of the 27 others, in 21, or 80 per cent, of the cases the financial condition of the white was less favorable than that of the colored partner. Of the 6 other cases, in which monetary advantage was in favor of the darker individual, 3 of the whites involved were males, and 3 were females.

One of the males had married the daughter of a respected and widely revered mixed-blood educator, an "authority" on Portuguese grammar, with whom many Bahians of the upper classes had studied and into whose family, by reason of the father's prestige, anyone in Bahia would deem it an honor to be accepted. Moreover, the difference in economic level between the two families was slight. A second had married a "beautiful *morena*" whose physical charm, it is said, readily compensated for the difference in economic status.

In 19 cases of intermarriage on which information was obtained from a town in the interior (Itaquara), 15 were from the same occupational level. In the 4 cases in which one spouse came from a lower social stratum than the other, the social advantage was in each case in favor of the white. Thirteen of the 19 couples came from the same economic level.

One may say that the frequency of intermarriage at Bahia varies inversely with class level. In other words, intermarriage takes place readily in the lower circles, occasionally among whites who are climbing in the class scale, and rarely with whites in the upper class.[11]

When intermarriages involving upper-class individuals do occur, however, "society" does not completely close its doors

[11] This generalization does not hold for *brancos da Bahia*, or those mixed-bloods who have passed over into the white category.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[4] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores*, *sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[4] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior or raided Indian villages for slaves.

4: Pierson Z4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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officials of the middle tier, and the predominantly black slaves of the lower stratum.[18]

The duration of this particular organization was, however, brief. As the color line bent further under pressure of the rising mulatto, certain of the more able or more successful mixed-bloods broke through into the upper tiers.

The development of the cities increased the possibilities for economic advancement to individuals who, like the mulattoes, were noted for their skill as artisans and—what was more important—for their intellectual ability.[19] The rise, after independence in 1822, of the *academias superiores* offered to the more able mixed-bloods possibilities not previously attainable. Since by reason of their mental alertness the mulattoes often excelled, it is said, in those pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential for success, the development of these centers of advanced study opened, at least to the ambitious and favored ones among them, ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.[20] Many promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class.

Of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, Raul Calogeras, whose father was a Bahian planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

> Raul was very intelligent, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young boy at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs

[18] Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 151; Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 160–61, 190.

[20] Physicians, lawyers and engineers.

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of Raul's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left the Reconcavo to come to Bahia, he brought Raul with him, and here, under his tutelage, Raul went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. And later, when his father went to Rio, he took Raul with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.[a]

Raul was a very dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He came to be a prominent citizen and was noted not only for his fine figure, distinguished bearing, poise, and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. At one time he was a much-loved confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

Significant also, so far as the rise of the mulatto is concerned, is the fact that early in the nineteenth century the return of young professional men who had been trained in Europe—in Coimbra, Montpelier, Paris, and other centers—enhanced the prestige of the rising professional classes. These young lawyers and physicians, among whom were a number of quite capable mulattoes, were returning to Brazil after an education abroad, ordinarily more traveled, better informed, and more urbane than their brothers or half-brothers on the plantations, in the army, or among the clergy. They were especially attractive, we are told, to the upper-class ladies of the time. The importation of fashionable articles from the Continent—Parisian haberdashery, perfumes, hair-dressings, and English shoes—with the use of all of which these returning young men were quite familiar, enhanced their standing among the élite. The increasing

[a] From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him. For information on the later life of this mixed-blood see Appen. A.

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The Count do Grobineau speaks of meeting three mulatto ladies-in-waiting to the Brazilian empress, one "marron," one "chocolat eclair," one "violette."[25] Montezuma became a viscount and sat in the national senate, as did also Salles Torres Homem. The best elements of the aristocracy attended the receptions for the noted engineer, Andre Rebouças.[26] His brother Antonio, a federal deputy, on requesting a representative on the crown council for the *população mulata* was heard attentively by the *camara*.[27] Domicio da Gama and the Barão de Cotegipe were long prominent in political and diplomatic circles. Dom Silvero Gomes Pimenta became an archbishop. No musician is said to have been more distinguished at court than the mixed-blood, José Mauricio. Domingos Caldas Barbosa, the son of a Negro woman from Angola, acquired considerable fame in the salons of Rio de Janiero and of Lisbon as a singer of popular songs. The eighteenth-century sculpture of Antonio Francisco Lisboa, better known as Aleijadinho, which may still be seen today in the old churches of Ouro Preto, Sabará, São João d'El Rei, and other cities of Minas Geraes, attracted much favorable comment. José Basilio da Gama, whose *Uruguay* is said to be the best epic poem of the colonial period, the writer, Machado de Assis, and the lyric poet, Antonio Gonçalves Dias, were universally accorded high rank in Brazilian letters. Tobias Barretto was honored as a poet but even more as a jurist and annotator of German philosophical works which he had translated. José de Natividade Saldanha, an able poet, was one of the leaders of the revolt in Recife in 1824.

[25] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 354.

[26] Visconde de Taunay, *Homens e cousas do imperio* (São Paulo, 1924), p. 145, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 112.

[27] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, *Recordações da vida parlamentar* (2 vols.; Rio, 1870), I, 524, noted by Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 113.

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José do Patrocinio became an able editor and wielded a powerful influence in the abolition movement. Joaquim Manoel was a violinist of considerable talent. A number of Francisco Braga's musical compositions achieved acclaim, and he was later invited to teach composition in the National Institute of Music. The Bahian mulatto, Francisco Chagas, better known as "Cabra," carved images with such skill that at least five of them ("Nossa Senhora do Carmo," "São Benedito," "São João e Magdalena," "Nossa Senhora dos Dores," and "Senhor da Redempção") may still be seen in the Igreja do Carmo. Valentim da Fonseca e Silva, popularly known as "Master Valentim," achieved fame as a skilled worker in gold and silver. The mulatto, Jesus, was a notable figure in an influential school of painting which flourished in Bahia in the eighteenth century. Crispim do Amaral, better known by his pseudonym "Falstaff," and Pedro Americo were accepted as among the most competent Brazilian painters of the nineteenth century. Antonio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, Laurindo Rabello, and Gonçalves Crespo, all won acclaim in the Brazilian world of letters, and at least the latter of these three in the Portuguese world of letters as well. The psychiatrist, Juliano Moreira, became director-general of the hospital for the insane in Rio de Janeiro and was elected an honorary professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia. The name of the Hospital João de Deus in Bahia was, in 1936, changed in honor of him to the Hospital Juliano Moreira. Theodoro Sampaio became widely known and respected throughout Brazil as an able engineer, intellectual figure, and linguistic scholar. José Ferreira de Menezes, Monteiro Lopes, Cardoso Vieira, Eliseu Cesar, Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, and (in more recent times) the Bahian brothers, João and Octavio Manga-

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beira, have all been influential politicians with national reputations. Luiz Gama, mulatto journalist and lawyer, born a slave in Bahia, became exceedingly popular not only in São Paulo, where he came to reside, but throughout Brazil. At least one president of the Republic, Nilo Peçanha, had African ancestors.[28]

It is said the royal family set the example of social acceptance of the darker Brazilians and gently rebuked those whites inclined to be hesitant in the matter. Dom João VI, in his audiences at São Cristovão, cordially received men of all stations, and the two Pedros (Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II) continued the tradition. Once, at a court ball, Princess Isabel, noting that a lady had declined to dance with André Rebouças, herself offered to dance the subsequent waltz with him, "to compensate for the affront to this illustrious man."[29]

The range of acceptance was at that time broadening. Formerly only the exceptionally able mixed-bloods, or those most similar to the Europeans in color, had been incorporated into the upper circles. But "the prestige of the title 'doutor' began to overcome much of the prejudice which had been so active and apparently so invincible during three previous centuries."[30] Similarly, an army uniform, "especially

[28] For information in some detail on prominent Brazilian mixed-bloods see Arthur Ramos, *The Negro in Brazil* (Washington, 1939), *passim*.

[29] Calmon, *op. cit.*, II, 114. Affonso de E. Taunay (in a letter to the author) reports the incident thus: "At a court ball the Princess Isabel, Countess of Eu and heir to the throne of Brazil, insisted on dancing with André Rebouças, a mulatto who was almost black (albeit a man of great mental and moral worth), in order to censure the attitude of certain ladies of the court who had objected to him as a dancing partner."

[30] Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 145.

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grown up naturally between the races were never threatened, let alone destroyed, by a program of reconstruction originating from without and imposed by armed conquest. Individual ability, personal ties and family solidarity, instead of external pressure, were the levers of social advancement. The rise of the mixed-blood and of the black in Brazil has always had effectively in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend normally to develop.

Such political upheavals as did occur tended to advance the mixed-bloods not as a group but as individuals. Thus the overthrow of the monarchy and the rise of the republic marked a definite break with the rural aristocracy and accelerated the rise of a new class, that of the *bachareis* and the *doutores*, among whom were many mulattoes. And, more recently, the recrystallization of the political structure following the "revolution of 1930" found many Bahian mixed-bloods in positions of trust and responsibility, since the new political "ins," who were diligently seeking to solidify their gains and to establish themselves firmly in power, found it expedient to accept such support as was readily at hand. Again the mixed-bloods figured prominently, not as a group per se but as individuals belonging to an eligible professional class.

The role of sex and of romantic love should not be overlooked. The sexual attraction which the mulatto male exerted upon daughters of rich and influential European families led quite often to elopement or, occasionally and increasingly, to marriage with parental consent.[14] Similarly,

[14] "The daughters, the *ydyds* of the *sobrados*, the *sinhás* of the *casas grandes de engenho*, let themselves be kidnaped by these Don Juans, even by such as were plebeian and of color. . . . . Sellin noted the large number of young ladies eloping . . . . during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were girls whose parents, for reasons of blood or of social position, had

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the mulatto women profited by the myth of the sexual potency of the hybrid,[35] the high mortality of white women (especially during the nineteenth century), and the consequent successive marriages of elderly patriarchs who sought an increasing degree of sexual stimulation. Cases of "marriages of elderly white men from illustrious families, descendants of barons and well situated in life, with beautiful octoroon, quadroon, or mulatto women who carried themselves like fine ladies and gave evidence of a sexual ardor beyond the ordinary,"[36] increasingly occurred.

Today, the mixed-bloods are gaining a constantly increasing measure of social recognition. Among them are to be found prominent lawyers, jurists, physicians, engineers, politicians, diplomats, priests, educators, business and commercial magnates, musicians, painters, poets, novelists, journalists, planters.[37] In other words, the mulattoes have now penetrated to the top of the class scale.[38]

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not consented to their marriage with men for whom they had come to feel a sentimental or sexual predilection" (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57). Note also the novel *O mulato* (3d ed.; Rio, 1889), by Aluisio de Azevedo, whose hero is a mixed-blood *bacharel* educated in Europe and enamored of a white girl from a family "full of prejudices of white purity." Gilberto Freyre calls this book "a human document warm with the life of the time."

[35] A popular saying commonly heard in Bahia is: "A white woman for marriage, a Negro woman for work, a *mulata* for sexual intercourse."

[36] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 337.

[37] See Lacerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 381–82; Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America* (Palo Alto, 1914), p. 39; Rudiger Bilden, "Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 73; Thomas Ewbank, *Life in Brazil* (New York, 1856), p. 267; Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 124; Theodore Roosevelt, "Brazil and the Negro," *Outlook*, CVI (February, 1914), 409.

[38] To accelerate his social climbing, the mixed-blood has developed certain characteristic personality traits: "a pleasant smile and manner, a cordial

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In all probability, the movement was at first largely vertical. When, however, the mixed-blood had gained some economic or professional competence, had definitely established his personal worth, he tended to be recognized as an "exceptional" individual; that is, as a person rather than as a member of a group. As the numbers of these "exceptional" individuals multiplied, the social conventions were subjected to constantly increasing pressure, since it is difficult to treat "exceptional" individuals in situations of intimate social intercourse differently from the way they are treated in intellectual, commercial, or political circles. This "strain for consistency" tends in time to modify conduct.[19]

Thus, as the mixed-bloods rose in class, this upward movement was accompanied by what might be called "horizontal progression." The individual who was rising in rank and establishing himself in the upper intellectual and economic circles began actually to penetrate the "inner sanctuaries" of the more exclusive social groups, breaking down marriage and familial taboos. The class tradition, in so far as it had been fixed by race, gradually began to give way under the irresistible pressure exerted upon it by the rising mulatto group.

This rise was accompanied by the personal stresses and strains which an individual in the process of moving from one class to another ordinarily experiences. The first mulattoes to penetrate the upper tiers reflected in their personal

show of hospitality, the use of diminutives as a means of being both respectful and intimate at the same time" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 357-58).

[19] Moreover, class interests tended to become more and more important and eventually to bind members of the same class with common bonds of sentiment, attitude, and idea, and thus to cut across lines of color or of racial descent.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CLASSES IN BAHIAN SOCIETY

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TODAY one finds at Bahia a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstance. Individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status.

However, the darker portion of the population, as we have already noted, have had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began on the bottom as propertyless slaves of the white ruling class and now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible badges of this slave ancestry, ineradicable symbols of low status. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the relatively unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments and that they gradually disappear as one ascends the occupational scale, until in the upper levels they are seldom to be found.

But the mixed-bloods, especially the lighter mulattoes, evidence a strong tendency to climb the occupational ladder. Although the darker individuals still occupy very largely the low-pay employments, the lighter mulattoes tend to be concentrated in the middle tier; while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos da Bahia*, as they are sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata.

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The whites, as might be anticipated, are concentrated in the upper levels. Their numbers, both absolute and relative, diminish sharply as one descends the occupational scale, and they appear only in small percentages in the lower tiers.

TABLE 8

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH BLACKS APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE				
		Black*	Mulatto	White	*Cafuso*§	Total
Carregadores†	100	93.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	100
Laundresses	200	89.5	9.5	0.0	1.0	100
Carroceiros‡	100	83.0	15.0	0.0	2.0	100
Masons	125	82.4	16.8	0.0	0.8	100
Stevedores	125	81.6	15.2	1.6	1.6	100
Truck helpers	250	81.2	18.0	0.8	0.0	100
Domestics	250	78.8	18.8	0.8	1.6	100
Street laborers	225	78.3	21.2	0.5	0.0	100
Candy-peddlers	100	77.0	21.0	1.0	1.0	100
Cobblers	70	74.4	22.8	2.8	0.0	100
Venders	200	68.5	28.0	3.5	0.0	100
Newsboys	100	68.0	31.0	1.0	0.0	100
Shoe-shiners	50	66.0	32.0	2.0	0.0	100
Streetcar motormen	80	60.0	32.5	5.0	2.5	100
Truck-drivers	150	44.7	43.3	10.7	1.3	100

* It is, of course, possible that individuals with some degree of mixture are included in this category. Color and hair texture were the differentials particularly noted.

† *Carregadores* operate at the port, discharging the functions of porters and baggagemen.

‡ Individuals who own a mule and a two-wheeled cart and transport goods about the city are known as *carroceiros*.

§ Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

Of the employments in which relatively unmixed blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate, those in which there appeared to be more blacks than mulattoes (together with the corresponding percentages) were as indicated in Table 8. The mulattoes in each case were predominantly dark mixed-bloods.

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Of the same employments (in which blacks and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than unmixed blacks were as indicated in Table 9.

TABLE 9

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER BLACKS, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE				
		Mulatto	Black	White	*Cafuso*	Total
Barbers*	150	74.0	20.0	6.0	0.0	100
Band musicians†	98	68.4	23.5	8.1	0.0	100
Street-sweepers	75	62.7	34.7	2.6	0.0	100
Streetcar *fiscais*‡	50	62.0	24.0	10.0	4.0	100
Streetcar conductors	80	58.8	22.5	16.2	2.5	100
Firemen†	100	58.0	32.0	9.0	1.0	100
Bus *cobradores*§	90	54.5	30.0	12.2	3.3	100
Taxi-drivers	85	54.1	31.8	9.4	4.7	100
Police*	150	54.0	32.6	13.4	0.0	100
Bus-drivers	90	50.0	27.8	17.8	4.4	100
Soldiers†	750	48.1	40.5	11.1	0.3	100

* These mulattoes were predominantly light.
† These mulattoes were predominantly dark.
‡ Individuals who check streetcar conductor's records.
§ *Cobradores* are fare-collectors in some cases, changeboys in others.

Of the employments in which whites and mulattoes appear to be predominant, those in which there appeared to be more mulattoes than whites were as given in Table 10.

Of the same employments (in which whites and mulattoes were found to predominate), those in which there appeared to be more whites than mulattoes were as indicated in Table 11.

Thus, the occupational groups found to be composed probably three-fourths or more of relatively unmixed blacks

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included: *carregadores*, laundresses, masons, stevedores, truck helpers, *carroceiros*, unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and candy-peddlers; those found to be composed perhaps two-thirds or more of blacks (in addition to the foregoing): cobblers, street venders, newsboys, and shoe-shiners; and those composed half or more of blacks (in addition to the above): streetcar motormen.

TABLE 10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH MULATTOES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT OVER WHITES, 1936

EMPLOYMENT	SAMPLE	PERCENTAGE			
		Mulatto	White	Black	Total
Army officers:					
Superior*	33	57.6†	42.4	0.0	100
Inferior	38	47.4	34.2	15.8	100‡
Clerks	350	55.1§	44.6	0.3	100

* The range was from lieutenant upward.
† There were only two dark mulattoes.
‡ *Cafuso*, 2.6 per cent.
§ These mixed-bloods were predominantly light.

The occupational groups which appeared to consist half or more of mixed-bloods, included: clerks, barbers, band musicians, army officers (superior), police, firemen, streetcar conductors, streetcar *fiscais*, taxi- and bus-drivers, bus *cobradores*, and street-sweepers. Approximately two-thirds of the band musicians appeared to be mulattoes, and about three-fourths of the barbers.

Among those occupational groups which are composed probably three-fourths or more of whites were found priests,

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bank employees, and businessmen;[1] among those two-thirds white (in addition to the above): professors in the Faculdades, lawyers, politicians, and cabaret entertainers;[2] and among those half or more white (in addition to the groups just named): physicians, commercial and government employees, and teachers in the secondary schools.

TABLE 11

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THOSE EMPLOYMENTS AT BAHIA IN WHICH WHITES APPEAR TO BE PREDOMINANT, 1936

Employment	Sample	Percentage				
		White	Mulatto	Black	*Brancos da Bahia*	Total
Bank employees	125	84.0	2.4	0.0	13.6	100
Priests	50	76.0	8.0	0.0	16.0	100
Businessmen	40	75.0	7.5	0.0	17.5	100
Cabaret entertainers	26	73.1	11.5	0.0	15.4	100
Professors (Faculdades)	232	70.3	14.2	0.0	15.5	100
Lawyers	433	67.1	9.7	1.7	15.2	100*
Politicians	60	66.7	11.6	1.7	18.3	100†
Physicians	100	63.0	20.0	1.0	16.0	100
Teachers (secondary)	58	57.0	24.1	3.4	15.5	100
Commercial employees	325	54.8	27.4	1.6	15.3	100‡
Government *funcionarios*	250	45.2	32.8	5.6	16.0	100§

* Indian-white descent, 0.7 per cent; Indian-Negro descent, 0.7 per cent; white-Negro-Indian descent, 0.5 per cent; incomplete records, 4.4 per cent.

† *Mamaluco* (white-Indian mixed-blood), 1.7 per cent.

‡ *Mamaluco*, 0.6 per cent; *cafuso*, 0.3 per cent.

§ *Mamaluco*, 0.4 per cent.

Of the first 500 *brancos* applying in 1935 at the Gabinete

[1] If *brancos da Bahia* are included in the white group, one would have to add cabaret entertainers, professors (advanced schools), politicians, lawyers, and physicians.

[2] If *brancos da Bahia* are included, one would have to add physicians, teachers in the secondary schools, and commercial employees.

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de Identificação for cards of identification, 292 were males. Of these, 213 were classified as students, 17 as businessmen, 11 as salesmen, 8 as government clerks, 8 as commercial employees, 5 as soldiers, 4 as teachers, 4 as hucksters, 3 as peddlers (a Rumanian Jew, a Pole, and a Spaniard), 3 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as engineers, 2 as house servants, and 1 each as carpenter, printer, auto mechanic, sailor, ship's engineer, tailor, musician (instrumental), vocalist, magistrate, laborer, farmer, and *proprietario* (one whose income is derived from rentals). Of the 208 females, 170 were classified as students, 24 as teachers, 7 as government clerks, 5 as housewives, 1 as vocalist, and 1 as typist.

Of the first 500 *pardos*, 244 were males. Of these, 90 were classified as students, 44 as peddlers, 25 as soldiers, 13 as commercial employees, 9 as mechanics, 7 as operators of bakeries, 7 as *carregadores*, 7 as shopkeepers, 6 as farmers, 4 as shoemakers, 3 as orchestra players, 3 as teachers, 2 as barbers, 2 as gardeners, 2 as house servants, 2 as beggars,[1] 2 as masons, 2 as bus *cobradores*, 2 as sailors, 2 as shoe-shiners, and 1 each as salesman, painter, carpenter, ironworker, tinsmith, vulcanizer, tailor, butcher, waiter, and truck-gardener. Of 256 females, 214 were classified as students, 30 as teachers, 4 as housewives, 2 as dressmakers, and 1 each as embroidery worker, designer, house servant, and beggar.

Of the first 155 *pretos*, 125 were males. Of these, 17 were classified as students, 51 as hucksters, 17 as *carregadores*, 8 as soldiers, 4 as bus *cobradores*, 3 as farmers, 4 as bakers, 2 as mechanics, 2 as masons, 2 as shoemakers, and 1 each as commercial employee, small shopkeeper, government clerk, decorator, hairdresser, pianist, jazz orchestra player, ironworker, leather worker, cabinet-maker, *carroceiro*, house

[1] *Mendicantes.*

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servant, sailor, farmer, and shoe-shiner. Of the 30 females, 23 were classified as students, 2 as teachers, 2 as housewives, and 1 each as street peddler, domestic servant, and government clerk.

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Inferences based upon this occupational distribution, together with certain other indices (such as tax returns, automobile ownership, the purchase of different-priced seats at cinemas and sport events), indicate that blacks and the darker mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites (including the *brancos da Bahia*) the upper stratum.

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A Bahian official engaged in income-tax collections knew of no rich blacks in the city,[4] but he did know of several well-to-do mixed-bloods, among whom were a few dark mulattoes. Most incomes in the upper brackets, however, are those of whites.

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Of 116 cars being driven along the central thoroughfare, the Rua Chile, during a popular festival, in 90, or 77.6 per cent of the total, only whites were riding; in 26, or 22.4 per cent, mixed-bloods were among the occupants;[5] while no cars were occupied by blacks. However, on a similar occasion, of 50 cars noted, 2 were occupied exclusively by blacks.

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At a cinema performance, of 63 persons occupying *poltronas* at 2$200 a seat, 73 per cent were whites, 20.6 per cent

[4] Although at Ilhéos in the rich cocoa area south of Bahia a few blacks and dark mulattoes are quite well to do. For a sketch of life in this region see Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (Rio, 1933).

[5] The 6 cars in which only mulattoes were riding constituted 5.2 per cent of the total (only 1 car was occupied by dark mulattoes); the 19 cars in which both whites and mulattoes were riding constituted 16.3 per cent of the total (3 cars were occupied principally by *brancos da Bahia*, 16 by whites, with only one or two light mulattoes in each case); 1 car (0.9 per cent of the total) contained one black and five dark mulattoes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563 * 565

the present social order at Bahia results, as it probably does in a free class society anywhere, from the tendency of the more advantaged and the more able to rise to, or to maintain themselves at, the top. Since the Africans began in Brazil at the bottom, the present distribution of color through the class scale obviously indicates the extent to which the Negroes (either pure or diluted) have been able to survive and to rise in competition with the Europeans and their descendants, who in the main began at the top. The present distribution is therefore that probably to be expected, even in a freely competitive society, given the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving freedom, the consequently limited opportunities for economic advancement, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status.

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One might also note that racial distribution in the occupations and with reference to economic status is not greatly dissimilar at Bahia to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country, until today he is represented there and here in all the professions and in many, if not most, of the occupations. Even the relative numbers in the different levels of the occupational and economic scales are somewhat similar in the two cases.

563* 571 171

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the total community; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all others of his own color but can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual, and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable degree, be overlooked.

The extent of participation of the different ethnic units in the total life of the community may be indicated by analyzing racial participation in such institutions as exclusive clubs, schools, labor unions, and churches.

One of Bahia's most exclusive clubs, membership in which is definitely indicative of advanced social status, is composed of Bahian "society," including most of the leading officials and many of the more prominent citizens. Numerous receptions for visiting celebrities are held at this club, and its dances are considered to be among the principal social functions of the year. No blacks have yet been admitted, although several mixed-bloods, including a number of *brancos da Bahia* and even a few dark mulattoes, are regular and honored members. Whites, of course, predominate.

Among the members is a dark mixed-blood, with Caucasian hair and features, a prominent citizen, an able eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist trained in Europe, and husband of a white wife. Of him a Bahian of undiluted European descent once commented, "You know when I went to see him about my eyes the other day, I never once thought of him as colored. I needed professional advice and I simply recalled that he, like his father before him, was the best eye specialist in Bahia." Another member of this club is a dark mixed-blood, a wealthy exporter, prominent in Bahian commercial circles, and husband of a white wife, upon whose visits into the interior, it is said, all those with whom he has business dealings (including whites) feel deeply honored when he visits them in their homes.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOH

Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563 * 829

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to point out how deplorable is the condition of the black man in Brazil.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that social lynching is worse than physical lynching.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to break the chains of oppression.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that he is dying of tuberculosis, of the heavy labor of carrying weighty burdens, of passing up necessities,[44] and of sorrow.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to remind the black man that he is selected for, and preferred in, the lower occupations.

The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to ask the black man how long he wants to be a slave?

563 * 829 [463]

"What the black does not have here," admitted a Bahian white, "is economic equality. He ordinarily gets only the meanest of jobs. He may be a manual laborer, a *carregador*, a mason or other artisan, but he seldom gets much above this level." "The Bahian black is poor and oppressed," said a mulatto. "The best positions are usually difficult for him to attain, especially if he has no education. He has little chance of becoming an important intellectual, commercial, or political figure; the best jobs are ordinarily beyond his reach."

563 * 829

The feeling of being abused and unfairly treated by fate is quite evident in the following document written by a *preto* stevedor:

In the past the black man was the laborer, the slave, vilely treated by the owners of great wealth whose descendants today often fail to recognize in him the principal factor in the building of Brazil and continue to deny him what he rightly deserves as a reward and a recompense for his untiring services (and even sacrifices), and for his humility in making himself always acceptable to his masters.

Today the descendants of these slaveowners are the great indus-

[44] I.e., of going without midday meal while at work, without sufficient sleep, medical attention, etc.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[45]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

[45] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

794 heartily in the songs, occasionally taps her cane on the ground in time with the drums, and appears to enjoy thoroughly each part of the ritual. Every once in a while she leans toward the drummers and shouts at the *alabé* in Nagô. Sometimes, when the *pae de santo* is temporarily absent from the *barracão*, she initiates the ritualistic songs. Her name is Ismeira and she lives in an old house in a section of the city which was once entirely inhabited, it is said, by Nagôs.

794 As the ceremony begins, 22 *filhas*, 1 *filho* (or male cere-
796 monial dancer), and the *pae de santo* are in the circle which has formed around the central post of the *barracão*. Seated in the center of the circle is a visiting *pae de santo* named Vidal. Twenty-one *ogans*, including visitors from other *seitas*, are to the left of the drums. Into the other available spaces are packed 208 spectators, of whom 136 are blacks, 68 are mulattoes (all dark mixed-bloods, except 6), and 4 are *brancos da Bahia*. There are no whites. Approximately two hundred other individuals mill about outside.

794 In this *seita* there are in all 34 *filhas de santo*, nearly 60 per
463 cent of whom are over forty years of age. The eldest are seventy-two and seventy-one years, respectively, and 9 are fifty or over. Ten are from forty to fifty, 7 are from thirty to forty years of age; 6 are twenty to thirty, 1 is nineteen, and 1 is twelve. Two are married, 13 are *amasiada*, 2 are engaged to be married, 15 are single, and 2 are widowed. All are from the lower class. Thirteen are peddlers of African foods in the streets, 7 are seamstresses, 5 are laundresses, 5 are domestic servants, and 1 is a midwife. One, the next to the eldest, is employed in looking after the *casa de candomblé*, 1 is the
794 *zelador de santo*,[14] and 1 an adolescent child. Thirteen, or

[14] It is the task of the *zelador de santo* to care for the *pegi*, wash the fetishes at regular intervals, and renew the food and drink offerings.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

more than a third, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, 16 live from one to four miles away in seven different sections of Bahia, 3 are from the neighboring villages of Armação and Pitúba, and 2 others, residents of Rio de Janeiro, are visiting relatives and friends in Bahia. 794

One *filha de santo* has been "made" fifty-eight years; another, fifty-seven. Three more have been functionaries of the cult thirty years or longer; ten, from twelve to twenty-one years; nine, from six to seven years; six, including the twelve-year-old girl, from one to two years; and two have been "made" only approximately one month. Six are dedicated to the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, Xangô; five to the *orixá* of pestilence, Omolú; four to the deity of the hunt, Oxóssi, and four to the deity of war and iron, Ogun. Two others are dedicated to Oxalá "the Elder," and two to Oxalá "the Younger," or Oxagian. Nine are sacred to the *mães d'agua*, or the water deities: four to Oxun, two each to Yansan and Nanan, and one to Yemanjá, "the *orixá* of the sea."

The sixteen *ogans* range in age from twenty to sixty years, with the exception of a five-year-old boy. The "eldest" in point of service to the cult has been *confirmado* ("confirmed") thirty-two years. Most are persons of relatively assured income from the lower class, there being among them hucksters, stevedores, day laborers, a *carroceiro*, a tinsmith, a painter, a baker, a tailor, and a typesetter. Only three, or less than one-fifth, live in the immediate vicinity of the *terreiro*, the residences of the others being scattered throughout the city in nine different sections.[1] [565] [463]

[1] This dispersion is perhaps indicative of the *candomblé's* gradual disintegration. An *ogan* remarked, "I would like to have all the *ogans* and the *filhas* living here near each other. It would be so much better. Years ago they used to live that way. But today everyone wants to live wherever he chooses anywhere in the city." [178]

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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percentage of each racial stock in each occupational class will indicate the occupational status of the different racial elements. And since the group with superior status will have proportionately larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the groups with inferior status will have larger numbers in the lower brackets, one may describe a racial situation statistically. Thus, on the basis of a sample census recently taken, the relation to the class structure of the respective ethnic elements in the population at Bahia may be described as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CLASSES AT BAHIA, 1936

Ethnic Groups	Intelligentsia		Marginal		Lower Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Blacks	5	0.4	23	5.1	1,245	75.2
Mixed-bloods	222	15.7	255	56.3	386	23.3
Whites	1,183	83.9	175	38.6	25	1.5
Total	1,410	100.0	453	100.0	1,656	100.0

One might indicate graphically the vocational distribution of the various ethnic elements at Bahia by a series of pyramids, as illustrated on the facing page.

If now one were able to obtain statistics showing the extent of intermarriage between, on the one hand, members of the different racial stocks in the same occupational class and, on the other hand, between the different classes in the same racial stock, these facts should provide an accurate statistical description of what the racial situation actually is. If one finds that, as in the United States, marriages between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 340]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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different occupational classes within each racial group are more frequent than intermarriage between members of the different racial groups in the same class, we should expect to find solidarity and co-operation for common ends organized along racial lines. The racial group would then assume more or less the character of a nationality or of a racial minority. On the other hand, if solidarity and co-operation were organized along class lines, then the struggle for status would take more or less the form of a class struggle.

[127] Statistical data to resolve this problem are unfortunately not available in any depository in Bahia. Such information as it was possible to secure in the course of this study indicated that marriages cross race lines more often than class lines and that solidarity and co-operation tend to be organized along class lines.

Since, then, the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites in Bahia do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste. Although the hierarchy of occupations still takes a decidedly pyramidal form, and the white race, occupying superior status, has predominantly larger numbers in the upper brackets, and the black race, representing inferior status, is overwhelmingly dominant in the lower brackets, each race and the mixed-bloods are represented in all the occupational classes.

To the extent that the blacks, mixed-bloods, and whites fall into endogamous but not necessarily occupational groupings, one might say that the structure here takes the form of a racial minority, or a nationality, in free association with, but not accepted on a basis of social equality by, a dominant racial majority. Such is the relation of the Jew in Europe and, increasingly now, of the Negro in the United States. Of the latter, Park has said:

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

of slavery was apparently very firmly intrenched. Thus, the "struggle for consistency" in the Brazilian mores went on *inside* each local community, where it had in its favor the intimate and personal relations of individuals who not only lived in close proximity to each other but were also bound together by ties of family, religion, and friendship.

10. Final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which for years had dominated the public mind. The release of the last slaves in bondage did not, as in the United States, occur as an incident of civil strife, nor were the race relations which have normally grown up under slavery ever exacerbated by a program of "reconstruction" imposed by armed conquest from without.

11. The Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his own status. No feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy have been stirred up, as in our South during and following the Civil War, no sense of unwarranted aggressions or attacks.

12. Today, the blacks and the mixed-bloods are represented throughout the entire occupational scale, although, as is to be expected, considering the original slave status of the Negro, his relatively disadvantaged position upon receiving his liberty, and the comparatively brief time he has enjoyed a freely competitive status, the darker portion of the population is still concentrated in the low-pay, low-status employments. However, the blacks, ordinarily but not always paced by the mixed-bloods, are gradually rising in the occupational scale.

13. This rise in class of the blacks and the mixed-bloods is recognized not merely in a Negro world, as is largely true of

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL

similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

5: Azevedo--19 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

5t Azevedo--60 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

Commerce

441 472 554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

433 • 463 [62]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

*563 472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate [233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among [245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets [249]. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

*563 441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

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*563 555 871 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes, colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who [171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught. In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463]

1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 871 171 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black university student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not at all anxious to learn."

*563 555 829 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself," says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons * 563 794 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds • 463 a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood, frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public * 563 794 793 797 office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

5: Azevedo--102 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

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555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113] 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and
873 morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).
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2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of
•463 social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu.
555 With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

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Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them; they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

[SALVADOR]

/83 cont./

*563 •463 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige (agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is *563 759 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery: "Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth *563 758 759 743 565 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together according to their maladies and according to their rank, and not according to their color: in the private clinics that take patients of the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay the price demanded.

*563 554 463 [30] The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate are given without distinction to black or white persons who practice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without encountering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked [124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of replies received, according to sex and type, were:

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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*563 555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 555 538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

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/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

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1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajù, 1950, p. 246.

Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy provided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

The very select clubs having a predominance of members who are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal professions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories mentioned above is the following:

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/103 cont./ In principle anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities, or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group, however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the distribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in /104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize the upper classes:

	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample representative of the total population, which proves, in fact, that the different types still do not have the possibility of advancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96		58		13		167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142	62.03	79	30.05	20	7.90	241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

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. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004